

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 BELGRADE 4737

EO 11652: GDS
TAGS: PINT ECON PERR YO
SUBJ: FURTHER ON TITO'S REPORT TO 11TH PARTY CONGRESS

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REF: BELGRADE 4670

SUMMARY: FULL TEXT OF TITO'S REPORT TO THE 11TH PARTY CONGRESS,
NOW AVAILABLE IN ENGLISH (COPIES POUCHED TO DEPT), IS DIVIDED
INTO FIVE SECTIONS DEALING WITH INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND
FOREIGN POLICY; ECONOMICS; POLITICAL SYSTEM; MARXIST
THEORY, SCIENCE, EDUCATION AND CULTURE; AND

LEAGUE OF COMMUNISTS OF YUGOSLAVIA (LCY). TEXT ADDS MUCH BULK TO WHAT TITO ACTUALLY READ AT THE CONFERENCE (REFTEL). OUR IMPRESSIONS ARE: NO RADICAL DEPARTURES, SOME CLEAR AND SOME NOT SO CLEAR ANALYSIS OF YUGOSLAVIA'S ECONOMIC SITUATION, SOME INTERESTING COMMENTARY ON INTERNATIONAL REALTIONS BUT NOTHING REALLY UNUSUAL EXCEPT PERHAPS FOR TITO'S EVIDENT CONCERN OVER THE STATE OF DETENTE. END SUMMARY.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND FOREIGN POLICY.

1. DESPITE THE PREMISE THAT SOCIALISM IS "INEVITABLY GAINING GROUND" TITO WARNS THAT THE FORCES OF OLD SOCIETY ARE TRYING TO PRESERVE INEQUALITY AND MONOPOLY. THE QUINTESSENTIAL PROBLEMS OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, HE SAYS, ARE PEACE AND EQUAL SECURITY FOR ALL COUNTRIES, ECONOMIC EMANCIPATION AND INDEPENDENCE AND THE DEMOCRATIZATION OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS. WITHIN THIS FRAMEWORK OF MOST OBVIOUS CONCERN TO TITO IS HIS ASSERTION THAT "DETENTE IN RELATIONS BETWEEN THE GREAT POWERS HAS BROKEN DOWN." COMMENT: THIS IS A MORE CATEGORICAL ASSERTION OF A "BREAKDOWN", IN DETENTE THAN WE HAVE PREVIOUSLY HEARD.

2. WITHOUT MENTIONING EUROCOMMUNISM BY NAME TITO NOTES AS A POSITIVE TENDENCY THAT MANY COMMUNISTS AND WORKERS' CONFIDENTIAL

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PARTIES IN WESTERN EUROPE "HAVE EMERGED AS IMPORTANT POLITICAL FORCES". THIS HE CALLS A PROGRESSIVE PHENOMENON. OBVIOUSLY REFERRING TO THE SOVIET UNION, TITO SAYS THERE ARE NO "UNIVERSAL MODELS" AND ADDS "WE BELIEVE THAT ANY RE-EMERGENCE OF CENTERS FOR GUIDING THE WORKERS MOVEMENT WOULD BE A NEGATIVE THING". FINALLY, HE STRONGLY STRESSES THE IMPORTANCE OF THE BERLIN CONFERENCE AS A BASIS FOR RELATIONS WITHIN INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT.

3. HE APPLAUDS CSCE AS A "HIGHLY IMPORTANT ACHIEVEMENT IN THE EASING OF TENSIONS", AND DISPARAGES ATTEMPTS TO UNDERRATE THE RESULTS OF THE BELGRADE MEETING (PRESUMABLY INCLUDING BOTH EAST AND WEST). AS INTERNATIONAL TROUBLE SPOTS HE BRIEFLY SINGLES OUT ONLY THREE (THIS SECTION NOT READ BY TITO AT THE CONGRESS): THE MIDDLE EAST, CYPRUS, AND AFRICA. IN THE MIDDLE EAST TITO ACCUSES ISRAEL OF AN "AGGRESSIVE AND EXPANSIONIST POLICY" BY WHICH IT "IMPEDES THE FINDING OF A LASTING PEACE AND JUST SOLUTION". ON CYPRUS YUGOSLAVIA CALLS FOR THE APPLICATION OF THE UNGA RESOLUTION OF 1974. IN SOUTHERN AFRICA TITO CALLS FOR THE "COMPLETE

LIQUIDATION OF THE REMINING STRONG POINTS OF COLONIALISM AND RACISM", INDEPENDENCE OF NAMIBIA AND ZIMBABWE AND ABOLITION OF APARTHEID IN SOUTH AFRICA. IN THE HORN OF AFRICA HE CALLS FOR A COMPLETE HALT TO ARMED CONFLICT.

4. TITO ATTRIBUTES SUCCESS OF NAM LARGELY TO ITS UNITY AND SOLIDARITY IN COMMON INTERESTS. HE ACCUSES ITS OPPONENTS "OF ATTEMPTING TO DISUNITE AND WEAKEN THE MOVEMENT" AND CRITICIZES "ARTIFICIAL DIVISION" INTO PROGRESSIVE AND CONSERVATIVE MEMBERS, THERE IS A LONG BUT NOT PARTICULARLY ORIGINAL CALL FOR A NEW ECONOMIC ORDER (NEO). THE TASK OF THE NON ALIGNED COUNTRIES IS TO PERSUADE DEVELOPED COUNTRIES THAT ESTABLISHMENT OF NEO IS IN THEIR ECONOMIC SELF INTEREST.
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HE CRITICIZES THOSE CIRCLES WHO OFFER TO SATISFY THE "BASIC NEEDS" OF DEVELOPING COUNTRIES, WHICH WOULD SIMPLY PRESERVE THE PRESENT SITUATION OF INEQUALITY.

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5. COOPERATION WITH SOCIALIST COUNTRIES IS "WELL ESTABLISHED AND FRUITFUL, CONSISTENTLY GROWING AND BEING PROMOTED IN THE SPIRIT OF PRINCIPLES WHICH WE HAVE ALWAYS ADVOCATED", WHILE COOPERATION WITH THE CONFIDENTIAL

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WEST IS "PROCEEDING SUCCESSFULLY ON PRINCIPLES OF MUTUAL RESPECT AND MUTUAL BENEFIT". COMMENT: OUR GENERAL IMPRESSION IS THAT TITO IS marginally "TOUGHER" ON SOVIETS THAN ON US. ONLY COMMENT WHICH WE CAN IDENTIFY AS CLEARLY AIMED AT US ALONE IS ONE SENTENCE RELATING TO ATTEMPTS TO MISUSE HUMAN RIGHTS "AS A MEANS OF BLOC CONFRONTATION AND INTERFERENCE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF OTHER INDEPENDENT COUNTRIES." THE "SMALL CAUCUS OF POWERS AND THEIR BLOCS" WHICH ARE "TRYING TO DECIDE THE DESTINY OF THE WORLD" OBVIOUSLY INCLUDES EAST AND WEST EQUALLY, BUT SOVIETS COME IN FOR A GREAT DEAL OF CRITICISM ON QUESTIONS OF RELATIONS BETWEEN PARTIES.

6. THE SECTION OF FOREIGN POLICY CONCLUDES WITH THE STATEMENT THAT "VARIOUS SPECULATIONS ABOUT THE FUTURE OF YUGOSLAVIA APPEAR RIDICULOUS. IT WILL REMAIN THE WAY IT WAS BUILT BY ITS NATIONS AND NATIONALITIES". MATERIAL DEVELOPMENT AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC RELATIONS.

7. BEYOND THE USUAL SELF CONGRATULATION ON YUGOSLAVIA'S ECONOMIC SYSTEM TITO PROVIDED A FAIRLY OBJECTIVE ANALYSIS OF STRENGTHS AND FAILURES IN THE SELF-MANAGEMENT SYSTEM. HE STATED THAT A CONTINUOUS RISE IN LABOR PRODUCTIVITY IS THE REAL BASIS FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND FRANKLY SAYS THAT THE SYSTEM SO FAR HAS FAILED TO PROVIDE IT. THE BLAME EXTENDS TO PRACTICALLY EVERYBODY IN ECONOMIC LIFE AND THE SOLUTIONS ARE FULL ACCOUNTABILITY OF ALL CONCERNED AND CLOSER ATTENTION TO THE REQUIREMENTS OF SELF-MANAGING AGREEMENTS, WHICH

SHOULD, IDEALLY, HAVE "THE FORCE OF LAW." HE DEPLORES THE TREND TO WAGE LEVELLING AND CALLS FOR STRICTER APPLICATION OF THE POLICY OF PAY ACCORDING TO WORK DONE AS A STIMULUS TO PRODUCTIVITY. MORE COOPERATION BETWEEN
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ENTERPRISES AND ACROSS REPUBLICAN LINES IS REQUIRED AND TITO PROCLAIMS ABSOLUTE OPPOSITION TO ALL FORMS OF AUTARKY WHETHER BY FIRMS OR SOCIAL POLITICAL COMMUNITIES.

8. ONE INTERESTING NEW IMPLICATION IS THAT ECONOMIC PROBLEMS MUST BE SOLVED FOR POLITICAL REASONS AS WELL AS FOR SOCIAL ONES. THIS WAS SAID BY DOLANC IN AN INTERVIEW LAST WEEK IN CONNECTION WITH THE PROBLEM OF THE UNDERDEVELOPED REGIONS OF YUGOSLAVIA. NOW, TITO CIRCUMSPECTLY MAKES THE SAME IMPLICATION, FIRST IN CONNECTION WITH "WAGE LEVELLING" AND LATER IN REFERRING TO EMPLOYMENT. IT IS RECOGNIZED THAT MAINTENANCE OF A MIXED MARKET ECONOMY WILL REQUIRE SOME CONCESSIONS TO CONSUMER SATISFACTION.

9. HE SCORES THE IRRATIONAL SYSTEM OF INVESTMENT HE SEES IN YUGOSLAVIA TODAY AND CALLS FOR LESS DUPLICATION OF INVESTMENT EFFORT AND MORE RECONSTRUCTION AND MODERNIZATION OF EXISTING PRODUCTIVE CAPACITY.

10. ACCORDING TO TITO, THE TWO MOST IMPORTANT ECONOMIC PROBLEMS WHICH FACE YUGOSLAVIA ARE UNFAVORABLE TRENDS IN FOREIGN TRADE AND THE FAILURE TO COPE WITH INTERNAL ECONOMIC PROBLEMS. WHILE HE BLAMES SOME OF YUGOSLAVIA'S EXPORT PROBLEMS ON EXOGENOUS FACTORS (THE WESTERN ECONOMIC SLOWDOWN, PROTECTIONISM ABROAD, EXCHANGE RATE CHANGES) HE ACKNOWLEDGES THAT THERE ARE ALSO SERIOUS INTERNAL SHORTCOMINGS. RECENT MOVES TO TRANSFER RESPONSIBILITIES FOR TRADE AND EXPORT PROMOTION FROM GOVERNMENT TO THE ORGANIZATIONS OF ASSOCIATED LABOR AND MAKING THE REPUBLICS THEMSELVES RESPONSIBLE FOR THEIR OWN BALANCES OF PAYMENTS ARE DESIGNED TO REMOVE THESE WEAKNESSES.

11. TITO WARNS WESTERN EUROPE THAT, WHILE THE LARGER PART OF YUGOSLAV TRADE IS WITH THE WEST, THESE WESTERN
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TRADING PARTNERS HAVE NOT SHOWN SUFFICIENT UNDERSTANDING OF YUGOSLAVIA'S PROBLEMS AND THIS HAS LED TO

"ALMOST INTOLERABLE" TRADE DEFICITS. THEREFORE,
YUGOSLAVIA WILL, IN THE FUTURE, LOOK TO THOSE TRADING
PARTNERS WITH WHICH BETTER TRADE BALANCES EXIST.
(COMMENT: BY IMPLICATION, USSR, USA, AND TO A LESSER
EXTENT, JAPAN). HIGH EXPORT PRICES WERE ALSO CITED AS
AN OBSTACLE.

12. TITO ACKNOWLEDGES THAT INFLATION IS SERIOUS BUT SAYS
THAT SOME ANTI INFLATION MEASURES HAVE SHOWN GOOD RESULTS
AND OVERALL GROWTH HAS BEEN MAINTAINED. HE CALLS FOR
MORE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE INDIVIDUAL WORKER AND
MORE SELF-MANAGING AGREEMENTS BETWEEN WORK ORGANIZATIONS,
WITH THE TRADE UNIONS TAKING AN IMPORTANT ROLE AS BOTH
INITIATORS AND PARTICIPANTS.

13. NEAR THE END OF HIS TALK ON ECONOMICS TITO REPEATS

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THAT THE ECONOMY IS BURDENED WITH MORE TAXATION THAN
THE CONSTITUTION ALLOWS AND THAT CONSUMPTION IS STILL
TOO HIGH, THIS TIME SPECIFICALLY MENTIONING PERSONAL
CONSUMPTION AS ONE OF THE CULPRITS. IN THE
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INTRODUCTION TO HIS SPEECH HE HAD EXTOLLED THE
25 PERCENT INCREASE IN PURCHASING POWER GAINED BY
YUGOSLAV CONSUMERS OVER THE PAST FOUR YEARS AND COMMENTED
FAVORABLY ON PLENTIFUL CONSUMER GOODS IN WELL SUPPLIED
MARKETS. FOR MOST YUGOSLAVS, WHO SEEM TO HAVE NO
INTENTION OF SLOWING THEIR PURCHASES OF CONSUMER GOODS,
TITO'S LAST REMARKS ABOUT CONTROLLING
PERSONAL CONSUMPTION MUST HAVE SEEMED AT LEAST
CONTRADICTORY AND PERHAPS A LITTLE FOREBODING.

14. HIS REMAINING REMARKS WERE PREDICTABLE, CALLING FOR
THE HIRING OF PRODUCTIVE WORKERS RATHER THAN
ADMINISTRATORS, BETTER INTEGRATION OF RETURNING GUEST
WORKERS (AND THEIR HARD CURRENCY SAVINGS), MORE
DEVELOPMENT OF THE PRIVATE ARTISAN SECTOR AND PROMOTION
OF LARGE SCALE AGRICULTURE.

POLITICAL SYSTEM.

15. ONE IMPRESSION WHICH EMERGES FROM TITO'S SPEECH IS
THE DEGREE TO WHICH THERE IS CONCERN ABOUT LACK OF
INVOLVEMENT OF THE WORKING MAN IN THE POLITICAL PROCESS
AND IN FACT THE LACK OF INVOLVEMENT OF COMMUNIST PARTY
MEMBERS AT LOWER LEVELS. (COMMENT: THIS DESPITE THE
RATHER EXTRAORDINARY INCREASE IN LCY MEMBERSHIP IN
LAST SEVERAL YEARS.) THIS CONCERN IS CLEAR IN TITO'S
STATEMENT THT "THE WORK OF SOME ASSEMBLIES HAS
BECOME A FORMALITY, THE PROCESS OF DECISION MAKING HAS
BEEN REDUCED TO MERE ADOPTION OF DECISIONS",
ALTHOUGH THE ENSUING ASSERTION THAT GROWING ALLOCATION
OF FUNDS FOR PUBLIC SERVICES BEYOND REALISTIC MEANS OF
THE ECONOMY INDICATED THAT "ASSOCIATED LABOR STILL DOES
NOT HANE THE DECISIVE VOICE," IS A NON-SEQUITUR.
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16. ONE WAY TO STIMULATE POLITICAL ACTIVITY IS TO INVOLVE THE SOCIO-POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS. TITO ASSERTS THAT "NO SOCIAL SYSTEM CAN FUNCTION AUTOMATICALLY. THE WHEELS MUST BE KEPT IN MOTION BY CONSCIOUS ACTIONS OF THE RULING FORCES IN SOCIETY". THOUGH HE SAYS THERE HAS BEEN NO CHANGE IN THE ROLES OF SOCIO-POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS, IT DOES APPEAR THAT SOMEWHAT GREATER EMPHASIS THAN PREVIOUSLY IS PLACED ON THE ROLE OF THE UNIONS WHICH TITO CALLS "PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT". ONE FACTOR WHICH MAY ACCOUNT FOR THIS ARE THE CLEARLY WORRISOM WORK STOPPAGES TITO MENTIONS AND WHICH HE THINKS COULD BE AVIODED IF LABOR UNIONS "MOBILIZED THE WORKERS AT THE PROPER TIME TO DO AWAY WITH THE VARIOUS NEGATIVE OCCURRENCES." AS FOR THE SOCIALIST ALLIANCE, TITO VOICES OFTEN HEARD COMPLAINTS: "IT OFTEN GOES NO FARTHER THAN TO ADOPT GENERAL RESOLUTIONS AND MAKE VERBAL ASSERTIONS", IS "UNDERRATED" OR "REDUCED TO A KIND OF RUBBER STAMP ACTIVITY". IT MUST PLAY A MUCH MORE SIGNIFICANT ROLE IN SELF-MANAGEMENT.

17. THE SECTION ON DEFENSE IS UNEXCEPTIONAL. HOWEVER, TITO'S STATEMENT THAT "THE ARMED FORCES ARE COMPLETELY PREPARED IF NECESSARY TO DEFEND OUR INDEPENDENCE AND FREEDOM SUCCESSFULLY" DREW EXCEPTIONALLY STRONG APPLAUSE.

18. HUMAN RIGHTS IS NOT MENTIONED AS SUCH EXCEPT IN ONE SENTENCE AND IN CONTEXT OF FOREIGN POLICY, MENTIONED ABOVE. THE ENTIRE CONGRESS OF COURSE IS PURPORTEDLY FOR THE PURPOSE OF "EXPANDING BOUNDARIES OF HUMAN LIBERTIES". ALSO TITO ATTRIBUTES THE WORK STOPPAGES TO "BUREAUCRATIC TREATMENT OF WORKERS AND INFRINGEMENT OF THEIR RIGHTS".

MARXIST THEORY.

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19. ONE THREAD WHICH RUNS THROUGH THE ENTIRE SECOND HALF OF THE SPEECH IS TITO'S CONSTANT REFERENCES TO "TECHNOBUREAUCRATIC MONOPOLY", AND THE NEED TO RESIST IT, BREAK IT UP, OR WITHSTAND ITS PRESSURES. THE ANSWER TO THIS IS THE LONG SECTION ON MARXIST THEORY WHICH STRESSES THE NEED FOR CONTINUED DEVELOPMENT OF MARXIST THOUGHT WHICH SHOULD IN TURN BE THE "UDERPINNING" OF THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM AND OF CULTURAL REALTIONSHPIS. ONE INTERESTING SIDELIGHT IN THIS SECTION IS THE

REFERENCE TO GROUPS AND CLANS IN SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL WORKERS". IT IS NOT ENTIRELY CLEAR WHO THESE GROUPS ARE -- THIS MAY BE A REFERENCE TO A GROUP OF OLDER DOCTORS ON THE BELGRADE UNIVERSITY MEDICAL FACULTY WHO WERE RECENTLY DISMISSED.

LEAGUE OF COMMUNISTS.

20. THE SECTION ON THE PARTY AND ITS ROLE DISCUSSES PARTY ROLE IN ALREADY FAMILIAR TERMS AS THE MOTOR AND COHESIVE FORCE OF SOCIETY WHICH MUST BE PRESENT IN ALL LEVELS AND ALL ORGANIZATIONS OF THE POLITICAL SYSTEM. TO THIS END TITO QUOTES SOME STATISTICS ABOUT THE INCREASE OF THE NUMBER OF BASIC ORGANIZATIONS. HE ALSO CALLS FOR THE NEED FOR MORE CANDIDATES IN ELECTIONS AND PROVIDES A GOOD FORMULATION OF THE LCY VIEW OF DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM -- "IT GUARANTEES THE BROADEST POSSIBLE DEMOCRACY IN FORMULATING POLICY AND ADOPTING DECISIONS, AND THE STRONGEST UNITY IN CARRYING THEM OUT".
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